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Big State Conference Oct. 2, 1855
Proceedings

Whig party, New England, Concord, N.H.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

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WHIG STATE CONVENTION

HELD AT WORCESTER, OCT. 2d, 1855.

WITH THE

OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE SPEECHES

OF

Dr. Luther V. Bell, J. T. Stevenson,
Saml. H. Walley, Geo. S. Hillard,
Wm. C. Fowler, Otis P. Lord,

AND

Letters of Rufus Choate and Robert C.
Winthrop.

*WHIG PLATFORM AND STATE
CENTRAL COMMITTEE.*

BOSTON :

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WHIG STATE CONVENTION.

The Whigs of Massachusetts met in Convention at the city of Worcester, on Tuesday, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the offices of Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Secretary of the Commonwealth, Treasurer, Auditor, and Attorney-General. The weather was quite unpleasant, nevertheless there was a very large gathering. The Boston and other Eastern delegations, with the Brigade Band, arrived about quarter past eleven o'clock, and the Convention was called to order in the City Hall, at twenty minutes of twelve o'clock, by CHARLES DEVENS, Jr., Esq., of Worcester. On motion of Gen. OLIVER of Lawrence, the Chairman and Secretary of the Whig State Central Committee—Hon. LUTHER V. BELL of Somerville, and Hon. WILLIAM ASPINWALL of Brookline—were deputed the President and Secretary pro tem. Dr. Bell on taking the chair, spoke as follows:—

Gentlemen of the Convention!—Representatives of the tried and true Whigs of Massachusetts (prolonged cheering):—I feel that this is no common privilege to be allowed to associate my name, even for a brief space, with this occasion. In the name of the committee of which I have the honor to be the head, I thank you for this token of approbation and confidence, both in my own behalf and theirs. Under ordinary circumstances this compliment, we know, might be merely an indication of ordinary courtesy; but amid the events which have marked our past political year—amid the difficulties and embarrassments which have surrounded our State Central Committee, I feel that we have a right to regard this generous reception as no equivocal compliment. (Loud applause.) I am happy to say that the committee have been able to act with uninterrupted harmony. I rejoice, in behalf of my brethren, that “amid the faithless they have been faithful found.” (Cheers.) They have retained throughout an unshaken allegiance to those great conservative principles which have ever stamped the Whig party as pre-eminently the party of the Union and of the Constitution. (Applause.)

On motion of Col. THOMPSON of Springfield, that gentleman and Messrs. J. D. Green of Cambridge, Henry Hobart of Abington, W. S. Gardner of Lowell, W. Mixter of Hardwick, and George Marston of Barnstable, were appointed a Committee on Credentials.

On motion of Mr. HOWE of Brookline, the mem-

bers of the Whig State Central Committee were admitted to seats in the Convention and invited to participate in its deliberations.

Messrs. B. K. Hough of Essex, J. M. Wightman of Suffolk, Judson Murdock of Middlesex, F. W. Lincoln of Norfolk, Isaac L. Hedge of Plymouth, Joseph Lapham of Hampshire, Horace Lee of Hampden, Daniel Fisher of Dukes, Leander Crosby of Barnstable, J. M. Tuthill of Worcester, C. H. B. Snow of Franklin, W. H. Brown of Bristol, and John Bird of Berkshire, were appointed a committee to retire and report a list of permanent officers of the Convention.

Dr. BELL here read the following letters:—

WHIG CENTRAL COMMITTEE ROOM, }
Boston, 21st Sept., 1855. }

Dear Sir,—In prospect of the approaching Whig Convention, the Central Committee are endeavoring to make the usual preparations to render its action effective. As the nomination of any gentleman to high office, who might for any circumstances feel it incumbent on him to decline, would involve the necessity of a second gathering, and render any future nomination weak and unsatisfactory, it has been the custom hitherto to ascertain in advance the willingness of prominent gentlemen to accept in the event of the voice of the delegates calling upon them. As regards yourself, the Committee are especially desirous of receiving an intimation of your willingness or the reverse to receive the nomination on two accounts—first, because they feel confident that your name will be very prominent among those under consideration; and secondly, because a gentleman, Mr. Dana, at the recent Fusion Convention, gave the impression, as you have noted in the public prints, that you would reject the Whig nomination as incompatible with your relations to the new party.

As the time for an arrangement is somewhat pressing, may we ask the favor of as early a reply as convenient.

Very respectfully,

L. V. BELL, Chairman.

Hon. JULIUS ROCKWELL.

—
PITTSFIELD, Sept. 25, 1855.

My Dear Sir,—In reply to your letter of the 21st instant, I have to say that I stand upon these facts:

I attended a primary meeting in this town on the 17th inst., called to appoint delegates to the Worcester Convention of the 20th inst. I have

been notified by the officers of that Convention, that I was nominated there as the candidate of the Republican party for Governor, and by a reply which I have sent by this mail, and to which I ask leave to refer you, I have accepted that nomination. The reasons of my attending the primary meeting, were set forth in some remarks which I made there, a brief sketch of which has been published. I have written no letters to anybody connected with the Convention, except in reply to a very few letters addressed to me, requiring a reply. Those replies contain nothing which I wish to conceal from anybody.

Before committing myself to this movement in the way which I did, I considered the matter as freely as I could. I see that two gentlemen at least who were Whig members of the last Congress attended the Convention, and took prominent parts in its proceedings.

I cannot place myself in any position which is equivocal, or which is capable of misconstruction. To accept a nomination from any other party as such, would, in my judgment, place me in such position.

I have attended with care to all that I have seen in the papers. I respect the opinion of others. I entertain my own with a diffidence, when it differs from that of esteemed friends, but my judgment must govern my conduct.

I have thus replied to the inquiry in your letter, and remain very respectfully, and truly your friend,

J. ROCKWELL.

HON. LUTHER V. BELL, Chairman of the Whig State Central Committee.

—
NEW BEDFORD, Sept. 29, 1855.

My Dear Sir,—If my name should be suggested by our political friends in connection with the nomination of Attorney General, at the Convention which is to assemble on Tuesday next, will you do me the favor to announce to them that I respectfully decline being a candidate for the place.

From among the many distinguished members of the profession, whose attachment to the honored principles and associations of the Whig party continues unabated in the political chaos around us, it will be easy for the Convention to make a selection acceptable to the people of the Commonwealth; for I do not yet believe that it is the desire of the people of Massachusetts that this shall be made a purely political office, or that the administration of its functions shall be controlled by a complaisant deference to a supposed popular opinion, rather than by an unswerving adherence to the requirements of the Constitution and laws.

For myself, however, I am not disposed to enter into a contest for an office, the duties of which I have continued to discharge during the past year, more from considerations of public duty, than with any reference to my private interests or inclinations.

I am, very respectfully,

Your friend and ob't serv't,

JOHN H. CLIFFORD.

DR. L. V. BELL, Chairman.

—
WORCESTER, Oct. 1, 1855.

To the Whig State Central Committee:—Gentlemen—My relations to the Whigs of Massachusetts for the last two years seem to justify, if they do not demand, a few words of personal explanation, in view of their approaching Convention.

My present connexion with one of the public literary institutions of the state renders it, obvious-

ly, proper that I should decline, as I respectfully do, being regarded as a candidate for any office at the coming election.

But I am unwilling to be suspected, in taking this step, of having abandoned the political platform on which I have stood, or the cause for which I have hitherto labored.

My devotion to those principles which have been adopted and acted upon by the great mass of the Whigs of Massachusetts has been evinced, I trust, by something more than mere professions.

The more I became acquainted with the practical results of those principles, the more fully was I confirmed in my convictions of their wisdom and adaption to the condition of our country.

The legitimate fruits of a Whig policy and a Whig administration have been seen in the history of Massachusetts during the quarter of a century in which they prevailed there.

And when the wanton and uncalled for violation of good faith, in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, had shown the necessity of an united action on the part of the free states, to regain the ground which freedom had thereby lost, and resist the further encroachments of the slave power, I know not a single Whig in Massachusetts who was not ready and willing to do all that he might within the limits of the Constitution, to accomplish that end.

Such, certainly, were the language and acts of our able and fearless Whig Representatives in Congress. And such were the resolves of the Whigs of Massachusetts through their Convention, the last year, deliberately adopted and solemnly declared. Such, too, I believe, were the feelings with which they entered the canvass at the last election. They labored *openly, sincerely and honestly*, to maintain the cause of home industry and of human freedom and of our common country. In that struggle, however, they were stricken down by blows dealt in the dark, from hands that had just before, been joined with theirs in the grasp of proffered friendship and fidelity.

Of the results of that struggle, it may not become me to speak. But this I do say, that if the cause of liberty is ever triumphant—if the aggressions of the slave power are ever to be checked—if slavery is to remain what it ought to be, a slave and not a national institution, it can only be accomplished upon substantially the same grounds on which the Whigs of Massachusetts were carrying on that struggle when their power was paralyzed by the treachery that betrayed them.

In view of what the Whigs of Massachusetts have been, and what they have accomplished, I am proud to have been of such a party.

I am proud of its history, I am proud of its name, and the associations that cluster around it.

It may lose its distinctive character in the changes through which Massachusetts is passing, but its spirit will animate whatever party it may be—and such a party I trust there will ever be—that seeks the honor and prosperity of our glorious Commonwealth, the union of these states, and the check by constitutional means of the growth of an institution that is fraught with so much evil as that which is now agitating the whole community.

Thanking, as I cordially do, the Whigs of Massachusetts for the many marks of favor they have been pleased to bestow upon me, and cherishing, as I ever shall, the grateful remembrance of the personal kindness of so many of its members, I trust the same spirit will animate, and an equal wisdom guide the deliberations of the coming

Whig Convention which have heretofore characterized the meetings of its representatives.

I am, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

EMORY WASHBURN.

The committee on organization reported as follows:—

For President,

J. THOMAS STEVENSON, of Boston.

For Vice-Presidents,

Suffolk County—Albert Fearing and James W. Paige, of Boston.

Essex—Nathaniel Silsbee of Salem, and Henry W. Kinsman of Newburyport.

Middlesex—S. J. Peck of Groton, and James D. Green of Cambridge.

Worcester—G. T. Rice of Worcester, and William Broad of Barre.

Hampshire—Edward Dickinson of Amherst, and Parsons West of Hadley.

Hampden—Homer Foote of Springfield, and Otis Holmes of Holyoke.

Franklin—George T. Davis of Greenfield.

Berkshire—John M. Thuthell of Hinsdale.

Norfolk—Col. Thomas Aspinwall of Brookline, and Thomas Motley of Dedham.

Bristol—S. L. Crocker of Taunton.

Plymouth—Benjamin King of Abington, and Philander Washburn of Middleboro'.

Barnstable—Daniel Crocker of Barnstable, and Oliver C. Smith of Falmouth.

Dukes—Daniel Fisher.

Nantucket—Daniel Baker.

For Secretaries—Farnham Plummer of Boston, W. W. Weildon of Charlestown, J. S. C. Hays of Lawrence, William Savory of Carver, Samuel B. Noyes of Canton, Frederick M. Peck of Worcester, and George W. Atwater of Springfield.

The report was accepted by a unanimous vote, and Gen. Dana of Charlestown and Gen. Oliver of Lawrence were appointed a committee to conduct the President to the chair.

SPEECH OF PRESIDENT STEVENSON.

The Rev. Mr. BUSHNELL of Worcester having offered prayer, Mr. STEVENSON addressed the Convention:—

Gentlemen of the Convention,—I thank you for this honor. My very limited experience in the duties of the chair must be the apology for any deficiencies on my part, and I am sure that your kind indulgence will render the performance of those duties comparatively easy.

We are here in the exercise of a delegated trust. This Convention has been called by the Whig State Central Committee, and we have been sent up here, by our Whig fellow-citizens, to nominate good, and true, and steadfast and unseduced Whigs, as candidates for the various state offices which are to be filled at the approaching election. (Applause.)

The known character, and the political integrity, and the steady firmness of the gentlemen who are here, give ample assurance that that trust

will be faithfully and judiciously executed. (Renewed applause.)

We have no new principles to avow; (cheers) no new doctrines to promulgate; (renewed cheering) no new light to show, (cheers) either as guides into new channels or as allurements into the wreckers' dangers. (Prolonged cheering.)

We are here to nominate a Whig Governor for the Whig state of Massachusetts. (Applause.) I say the *Whig* state of Massachusetts, for it has been the principles of the Whig party, carried out, with very rare and very short-lived exceptions, in our state legislation, which has made Massachusetts what she is. (Cheers.) If it be proposed to us to lay aside those principles, even for a day, or to surrender that name, let us ask those who suggest it to show to us the other state in this Union, or the other place on the face of the earth, where the government has been more faithfully conducted than here; where justice has been more surely administered than here; where the majesty of the law has been more certainly maintained than here; where legislation has done more for the promotion of the best interests of all classes than here; where more has been done for the moral and intellectual education of the people than here; where the large streams of public charities have flowed with more beneficent influences than here—let them show to us such a state, and then it will be early enough to ask us to lay aside the principles which, in their development, have led to such results. (Cheers.)

No, gentlemen, no. The Whigs of Massachusetts intend, in this year of our Lord, 1855, to stand upon their own foundations, so deeply laid, and broad enough for our whole common country, and will not, at the bidding of any leaders, either of friends or of foes, undertake to entrench themselves in any castle-in-the-air, (great cheering) no matter how gorgeous the cloud may be, (cheers) on which it seems to rest (applause).

I ought not to detain you longer from the more immediate duties of the day (cries of "go on," and cheers). But you will, perhaps, excuse me while I allude, very briefly, to the subject of the new position of things in Massachusetts. I refer, as you will understand, to the attempt which is being made by politicians of various strifes to establish a new party here, *for state purposes*, upon the sole issue of opposition to the extension of negro slavery. The very foundation of such a party must be a pretence.

They undertake to say that the only characteristic of their party—the only tie which connects its heterogeneous parts, the only aim it has, the only purpose it seeks the accomplishment of, is opposition to the extension of slavery. They know, as well as we do, that there is but one judgment in Massachusetts on that point, and, therefore, that the flag under which they propose to sail, like the pirate's flag at sea, bears no distinguishing mark. They know, as well as we do, that there is but one line of division which *can* be drawn in Massachusetts upon that subject. (Applause.)

On one side of that line stand those, who, sincere as any in their desire that this only blight of our country may be restrained and removed, still feel, and acknowledge, and mean to be controlled by the obligations of the constitution of our country; while on the other side of it stand those who are prepared to disregard and to break down all barriers in their pursuit of this one object.

The Whigs of Massachusetts, with whom the word slavery needs no epithet, because the sub-

stantive noun, in its naked deformity, conveys all the horrors that the human mind is capable of conceiving of—stand, and they mean to stand, on the constitutional side of that line—the only line which can be drawn in Massachusetts. Within the limits of the Constitution no efforts of theirs will be wanting; beyond its limits no steps will be taken.

Any man, and any set of men, whatever name they may give to their party, whether Fusionists, or Republicans, or Free Soilers, or Abolitionists, who call other men in Massachusetts “pro-slavery men,” are libellers and defamers. And I, for one, distrust the designs of those who undertake to seize upon that which they know to be the common sentiment, the universal judgment of men in Massachusetts, and to appropriate it to themselves for party purposes.

This new party, or rather this old party with an alias, (laughter) seems to me to be composed of, and to be guided by, the same men who directed and controlled, and are responsible for, the most objectionable part of the legislation of the last winter; and they now repudiate and reject their own Governor, on account of the acts on his part which alone made the last year’s administration decent.

They have had their Convention, and have made their nominations; and they present to us the remarkable spectacle of a State Convention to nominate state officers and to make arrangements for a state campaign, and no one of our state institutions alluded to or thought of! (Applause.)

Have we no interests in Massachusetts? Are there no public matters, demanding the care and the vigilance of good citizens, excepting slavery? Are our own rights nothing? Are all our varied relations to one another nothing? Are not our own institutions worth the trouble of a vote? Is not our own Constitution worth the trouble of a thought? (Applause.)

I do not believe that the reflecting Whigs of this state will connect themselves with any party which seems to be based upon the hollow doctrine that we have no interests at home worthy of a government, and that all which a party has to do in Massachusetts is to cry out about the laws and the constitutions of other states. (Applause.)

They confine themselves to a single purpose, and that a foreign one, and they nominate men to offices, in which, if they should be elected, they can have no vote anywhere on any subject affecting that purpose; nor could they, by virtue of their offices, exert any influence on that subject, without unwarrantably perverting those state offices from their legitimate objects.

What has the Governor of Massachusetts to do in his official capacity with this, their only doctrine? What has the Legislature of Massachusetts to do with the laws and the institutions of other states?

When the government of Massachusetts devotes itself, in any direction, to the institutions of other states, disregarding our own, she will have wandered from her proper sphere, and will be counted with the “lost pleiad”; lost to all useful purposes, giving no more light in a constellation, in which she was once a guiding star. (Cheers.)

When the state government undertakes, in any form or for any reason, to arrogate or to nullify the action of the general government, it not only commits an act of revolution, but it invades the individual and personal rights of each of her own citizens.

Those who undertake to establish parties on such foundations, to constitute state governments for such purposes, need to be taught, that each citizen of Massachusetts owes allegiance to, and is entitled to the protection of the government of the United States, not because he is a citizen of Massachusetts, but because he is one of the people of the United States. (Applause.)

The states did not establish the government nor ordain the Constitution of the United States. The people, in the exercise of their original powers, ordained the one and established the other; and each citizen’s relations to the general government are as immediate and as direct, as his relations to the state government are, and those relations to the government at Washington are not to be altered, or controlled, or interfered with, by the state government, any more than his relations to the government of the state are to be altered, or controlled, or interfered with, by the city government. Any such interference is an invasion of the individual’s personal private rights.

When you wish to approach the government of the United States, you are not to do so through the Council Chamber in Boston, any more than, when you wish to approach the government of the state, you are to do so through the Mayor’s office in School street. Your relations are direct and immediate with one government as with the other.

But, say some faltering gentlemen, the Whig party was defeated last year, and it is useless to strive on.

Defeat is not always ruin. (Applause.) What man ever succeeded in anything who allowed his first reverse to crush his spirits, or to paralyze his arm? What association of men, what political party, could ever succeed, by whom reverse was looked upon as destruction. (Cheers.)

Some have suggested that the Whig party is dead. There is fire in its ashes, there is life in its shade; and, as its spirit pervades the Commonwealth, its ghost will turn out to be a very substantial person.

We do not forget that some gentlemen, with whom we have been associated, and whom the Whig party has delighted to honor, have seen fit to take part in this fusion movement, as it is called. They will soon find themselves unable to tread the crooked paths into which their new associates will carry them. And they will soon be back again at the gate of the old homestead; and we will receive them kindly, forgiving the wanderings of an hour for their service of years. (Applause.)

Old rats, they say, desert a sinking ship. True; but old rats, like all other created things, are liable to be mistaken, and I for one am not ready to follow them over the rail, or through the scupper holes, because I see no evidence, excepting their desertion, that the ship is sinking; and in the next place, if the good old ship is to go down, I had rather go down with her, (cheers,) with her colors flying, and with the flag of the Union at her mast-head, (cheers,) than to desert her and to struggle for life, on a single plank, in company with the mutineers who have scuttled her. (Prolonged cheers.)

We have a plain duty to perform. Those who sent us here expect at our hands the nomination of a ticket which they may vote for with pride and with satisfaction. (Cheers.)

Our cause is just. Let our union be perfect, and then, if we succeed, it will be a victory worthy of a triumph; or, if we fail, it will be defeat without dishonor. (Great applause.)

Let us inscribe upon our banner:—God save th

Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and upon the other side of it, in letters equally as large, God save the United States of America.

When Mr. Stevenson took his seat he was cheered three times three by the Convention.

Mr. PLUMMER of Boston here read the following letters, which had been received from Hon. Rufus Choate, Hon. Robert C. Winthrop and others:—

Boston, 1st Oct., 1855.

Messrs. Peter Butler, Jr., and Bradley N. Cumings, Secretaries, &c., &c.:—

Gentlemen—I discover that my engagements will not allow me to attend the Convention to be holden at Worcester to-morrow, and I hope that it is not too late to fill the vacancy.

I assure the Whigs of Boston that I should have regarded it as a duty and a privilege, if it had been practicable, to serve as one of their delegates. The business which the Convention meet to do gives it extraordinary attraction as well as importance.

Whether we are dead, as reported in the newspapers, or, if not, whether we shall fall upon our own swords and die even so, will be a debate possessing the interest of novelty at least. For one, I deny the death, and object to the suicide, and should be glad to witness the indignation and laughter with which such a question will be taken.

If there shall be in that assembly any man, who, still a Whig, or having been such, now proposes to dissolve the party, let him be fully heard and courteously answered upon his reasons. Let him declare what party we shall join. Neutrality in any sharp civil dissension is cowardly, immoral and disreputable. To what party then does he recommend us? I take it for granted it will not be to the Democratic; I take it for granted, also, not the American. To what other, then? To that of fusion certainly—to the Republican, so called, I suppose, because it is organized upon a doctrine, and aims at ends, and appeals to feelings, on which one half of the republic, by a geographical line, is irreconcilably opposed to the other. Even to that party.

Let him be heard on his reasons for deserting our connection and joining such an one. To me, the answer to them all, to all such as I have heard or can imagine, seems ready and decisive.

Suppressing entirely all that natural indignation and sense of wounded pride and grief which might be permitted in view of such a proposition to Whigs who remember their history—the names of the good and wise men of the living and dead, that have illustrated their connection, and served their country through it—who remember their grand and large creed of Union—the Constitution—peace with honor—nationality—the development and culture of all sources of material growth—the education of the people—the industry of the people,—suppressing the emotions which Whigs, remembering this creed and the fruits it has borne, and may yet bear, might well feel towards the tempter and the temptation, the answer to all the arguments for going into fusion is at hand. It is useless totally for all the objects of the fusionist, assuming them to be honest and constitutional,—useless and prejudicial to those objects; and it is fraught moreover with great evil. What are the objects of the fusionist? To restore the violated compromise, or if he cannot effect that, to secure to the inhabitant, *bona fide* such, of the new territory, the unforced choice of

the domestic institutions which he prefers, a choice certain in the circumstances of that country now or soon to close it against slavery forever. These, unless he courts a general disturbance and the revelry of civil “battle fields,” are his objects; and when he shall prove that fusion will send to Congress men who will labor with more zeal and more effect to these ends than such Whigs as Mr. Walley is or as Mr. Rockwell was, with a truer devotion to liberty—more obedient to the general sentiment and the specific exactions of the free states—with a better chance to touch the reason and heart, and win the co-operation of good men in all sections,—when he proves this, you may believe him. We know that the Whig representatives of Massachusetts in Congress do and must completely express the anti-slavery sentiment of Massachusetts, so far as they may be expressed under the Constitution. More than this we do not seek to express while there is yet a Constitution. Fusion is needless for the honest objects of the fusionist.

But the evils of disbanding such a party as ours and substituting such a party as that——! See what it fails to do. Here is a new and great political party, which is to govern, if it can, the state of Massachusetts, and to govern, if it can, the American Union. And what are its *politics*? It has none. Who knows them? Even on the topic of slavery, nobody knows, that I am aware of, what in certain it seeks to do, or how much or how little will content it. Loud, in general denunciation, it is silent or evasive on particular details.

But outside of the topic of slavery, what are its politics? What, in the most general outline, is its creed of national or state policy? How does it interpret the Constitution? What is its theory of state rights? What is its foreign policy? By what measures; by what school of politicians; by what laws on what subjects; by what diplomacy; how, generally, does it propose to accomplish that good, and prevent that evil, and provide for those wants for which states are formed and government established? Does it know? Does it tell? Are its representatives to go to Congress or the Legislature to speak and vote on slavery only? If not, on what else, and on which side of it?

A party, a great political party, *without politics*, is a novelty indeed. Before the people of this country or state enable it to rule them, they will desire, I fancy, a little more information on these subjects. We all, or almost all, of the free states, who recognize the Constitution, think on slavery substantially alike. Before we make men Presidents and Governors, and Senators and Judges, and Diplomats, we demand to see what else besides cheap, easy, unavoidable conformity to the sectional faith on that one topic, they can show for themselves.

We elect them not to deliver written lectures to assenting audiences of ladies and gentlemen; to kindle the inflammable, and exasperate the angry; but to perform the duties of practical statesmanship, in the most complicated and delicate political system, and the hardest to administer, in the world. Let us, at least, then, know their politics.

Kept totally in the dark about these, we do know that this party of fusion is, in the truest of all senses, and the worst of all senses, a *geographical party*. What argument against it can we add to this? Such a party, like war, is to be made when it is necessary. If it is not necessary, it is like war too, a tremendous and uncompensated

evil. When it shall have become necessary the eternal separation will have begun. That time, that end, is not yet. Let us not hasten, and not anticipate it, by so rash an innovation as this.

Parties in this country heretofore have helped, not delayed the slow and difficult growth of a consummated nationality. Our discussions have been sharp; the contests for honor and power, keen; the disputes about principles and measures, hot and prolonged. But it was in our country's majestic presence that we contended. It was from her hand that we solicited the prize. Whoever lost or won we loved her better. Our allies were everywhere. There were no Alleghanies nor Mississippi Rivers in our politics.

Such was the felicity of our condition, that the very dissensions which rent small republics in twain, welded and compacted the vast fabric of our own. Does he who would substitute for this form of conducting our civil differences a geographical party, completely understand his own work? Does he consider how vast an educational instrumentality the party life and influence compose? Does he forget how the public opinion of a people is created, and that when created it determines their history? All party organization tends towards faction. This is its evil. But it is inseparable from free government. To choose his political connection aright is the most delicate and difficult duty of the citizen. We have made our choice and we abide by it. We join ourselves to no party that does not carry the flag and keep step to the music of the Union.

I am, gentlemen,
Your fellow-citizen,
RUFUS CHOATE.

Boston, 27th Sept. 1855.

Gentlemen—On my return home last night I received your notification that I had been chosen a delegate to the Whig State Convention.

I am grateful to the Whigs of Boston for such a mark of their continued confidence; but it will not be in my power to go to Worcester on Tuesday next, and I must therefore request that my place may be seasonably filled.

I am unwilling to make this communication, however, without saying, distinctly, that I have seen nothing in the condition of our public affairs to call for the organization of a mere sectional party upon a single anti-slavery issue.

On the contrary, I have a deep conviction that such a movement will be attended with danger to the republic, and with ultimate discomfiture to the best interests of freedom.

I opposed such a proceeding in 1847, and I can take no part in its renewal under the same auspices now. I am, gentlemen,

Respectfully yours,
ROBERT C. WINTHROP.

P. BUTLER, Jr., B. N. CUMMINGS, Esqs., Sec'ys.

Boston, 26th September, 1855.

Gentlemen,—I am duly sensible to the honor of being appointed a delegate to the Whig State Convention, but shall not be able to attend it.

It may, however, be fit that I should take this occasion to state that I am opposed to any fusion which would render the Whig party the mere tool of those whose first precept, under pretence of some new-discovered higher obligation, is to violate *good faith*. Nor can we help suspecting those, who, retaining other incumbents in office, for no

avowed reason but because they are incumbents, exclude the Attorney-General, a man of more ability than all the other candidates put together, and who has filled his place and that of Governor in a manner equalled by very few of his predecessors in either office, and surpassed by none.

He does not want the office, but the public want him, and I doubt whether the people of Massachusetts are prepared, at the dictation of any party, to cast a slur on him.

Respectfully,
Your ob't servant,
F. C. GRAY.

Boston, Sept. 29, 1855.

Gentlemen.—I regret, very much, that it will not be in my power to attend the Convention to be held at Worcester on the 2d proximo. I am grateful for the honor conferred upon me by the meeting, which you represent, in appointing me a delegate, and am heart and hand in the good cause for which that meeting was organized.

My continued hope that I should be able to accept the appointment, be my apology for delaying this note to so late an hour.

I am, with great regard, ever your obedient servant,
JOHN P. BIGELOW.

Boston, Sept. 29, 1855.

Gentlemen,—Having been absent from the city for the last few days, I only received your note of the 24th, last evening. It will not be in my power to attend the Whig Convention at Worcester on Tuesday; but I hope they will make such a demonstration as will convince the world that the Whig party of Massachusetts is not extinct.

With much respect, your very obliged servant,
N. APPLETON.

Messrs. William Aspinwall of Norfolk, N. A. Thompson of Suffolk, J. H. Carlton of Essex, J. F. Barrett of Middlesex, S. B. I. Goddard of Worcester, Joseph Lothrop of Hampshire, S. A. Shackford of Hampden, Theodore Leonard of Franklin, Mathias Ellis of Plymouth, John Jenkins of Barnstable, John Morrissey of Nantucket, and Robert Sherman of Bristol, were appointed to prepare a platform of principles.

Mr. THOMPSON of Springfield, from the Committee on Credentials, reported that there were many delegates in attendance who forgot to bring their certificates, but that 718 had been returned, showing that one hundred and twenty-four cities and towns were represented in the Convention.

On motion of Gen. OLIVER of Lawrence, it was agreed to take an *informal* ballot for a candidate for Governor, and a committee was appointed to receive the votes. In due time, Gen. Oliver reported the following as the result:—

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| Samuel H. Walley of Roxbury..... | 454 |
| Julius Rockwell of Pittsfield..... | 18 |
| Robert C. Winthrop of Boston..... | 15 |
| William Appleton of Boston..... | 13 |
| George Ashmun of Springfield..... | 9 |
| Levi Lincoln of Worcester..... | 7 |
| Otis P. Lord of Salem..... | 4 |
| Henry J. Gardner of Boston..... | 4 |
| Francis B. Crowninshield of Boston..... | 3 |
| George B. Upton of Boston..... | 3 |
| Emory Washburn of Worcester..... | 2 |
| John H. Clifford of New Bedford..... | 2 |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| J. Thomas Stevenson of Boston..... | 2 |
| Luther V. Bell of Somerville..... | 2 |
| Ensign H. Kellogg of Pittsfield..... | 1 |
| Edward Dickinson of Amherst..... | 1 |
| Edward Everett of Boston..... | 1 |

Mr. HOUGH of Gloucester said the sense of the Convention was clear, and he felt persuaded that gentlemen would agree with him that no *formal* ballot was necessary. He therefore moved that SAMUEL H. WALLEY be declared the nominee of the Whig Convention. This was agreed to by a unanimous vote, and Mr. WALLEY, who was present, was called out. Mr. Stevenson introduced him thus:—

Gentlemen,—I have the honor to introduce to you the next Governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. (Great applause.)

Mr. WALLEY responded as follows:—

SPEECH OF HON. SAMUEL H. WALLEY.

Fellow Whigs!—(Immense applause)—If I consulted my own feelings—if I took counsel of my own distrust of myself—if I gave heed to the suggestions which I have received all around me—if I even consulted the feelings of my own best family friends, I should respectfully decline the nomination which you have done me the exceeding honor to give me at this time. But, gentlemen, I feel that upon your shoulders rests the ark of political freedom in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. (Loud cheers.) You are the bearers of that ark, and you have been sent here by the citizens of this Commonwealth, representing those principles which I deem essential and vital to the well-being of this Commonwealth, and select some one as the exponent of those views, to stand before the people and be voted for at the coming election; and, gentlemen, if it is your wish that I should do your bidding in this manner, as thus indicated, I have nothing to do but to bow in acquiescence. (Great cheering.)

Gentlemen—I have always been a Whig, I am a Whig, and I will die, if I die possessed of my reason, adhering to those principles which have been the Whig doctrines of this Commonwealth ever since that party had an existence. (Loud cheers.) Why, gentlemen, talk of the death of the Whig party! (Laughter.) Talk of giving up Whig principles! What has made Massachusetts what she is? What has crowned her with a glory and lustre that make her now conspicuous throughout all the States of this blessed Union? Why, Mr. President and fellow Whigs, if the principles of the Whig party are to be given up, are to be surrendered, let them be surrendered in every State of the Union before they are surrendered in Massachusetts! (applause) and when their death-knell is heard, let it be after every State in the Union shall have forsaken those principles; and even then there are no principles upon which that State alone can stand with so much confidence and security, for permanence and future prosperity, as those principles which have made her what she now is! (Loud cheers.)

As I was coming here this morning, riding along, my eyes rested with pleasure and delight upon those mellow tints of autumn, upon your ripened foliage; and I thought of the Whig party as I looked upon that foliage; not in its spring of inexperience, not in its summer of flowers, not with those who have basked in its sunshine, and are disposed to leave it before the autumnal equi-

nox, not in its icy winter, and dying under the cold chill of frost; but of it in its autumn, bearing its ripened fruits, showing the fulfillment in its present existence, and in the institutions of Massachusetts, of what had been promised and projected concerning it during its previous existence; and fulfilling now, at this moment, all the pledges that its past and present friends have given concerning it. (Cheers.)

Mr. President, I am not one of those who regard it as a sacrifice to serve the Whig party. I am not one of those who are afraid to take part and act with the Whig party. (Renewed cheers.) I am ready—no, I will not say that now—I should have been ready, sir, to have gone out into this campaign and labored with all my heart and all my zeal to have secured the election of your standard-bearer, and it would have given me unspeakable pleasure to have had it in my power to have voted for some other gentleman, and especially would it have given me pleasure to vote for Julius Rockwell. He has been my intimate friend for 25 years; I have known him well and loved him dearly, and I have regarded him as a tried, faithful and consistent Whig; and up to the time when he forbade the possibility of my voting for him as Governor, it would have given me the greatest pleasure to have labored and toiled for his election. I regret extremely that he has precluded me from the possibility of doing so, and I regret it both for his sake and for the sake of the people of this Commonwealth. I am sure that no man could have served the people of this state better or with more ability than he could have done; and to those whom I see before and around me I cannot but say that you have made a mistake in your selection, and I wish your selection had fallen on some other individual; but as you have, in the exercise of your right, chosen to place me in the position of your nominee, I shall accept the nomination. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. President, I would go on and speak upon the questions of the day, but after the opening speech of this morning, anything good that I should say would be a repetition, and I will not take up your time with anything that is not good. (Loud applause.)

At the close of this address, a committee, of which OTIS KIMBALL, Esq., of Boston, was Chairman, was appointed to receive, sort and count the votes for Lieutenant-Governor, but it being dinner time, the Convention adjourned to meet again at 3 o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The President called the Convention to order at 3 o'clock. There was some discussion as to the position of Mr. Davenport between Messrs. Marston of Barnstable and Kinsman of Newburyport. Mr. HOUGH of Gloucester intimated that it was not in order on the part of Mr. Marston, at this stage of the proceedings, to enter into a discussion of the merits of candidates. Col. Boyd of Roxbury gave Mr. Kinsman a similar hint, and the debate was ruled out of order.

Mr. ASPINWALL, from the Committee on Resolutions, submitted the following—

THE PLATFORM OF PRINCIPLES.

Resolved, That at no period in the history of the Whig Party has it been so important as now, that the Whigs of Massachusetts, the untiring advo-

cates of Liberty, of the Constitution, and of the Union, should maintain their organization, and hold themselves aloof from all entangling alliances with other parties, under whatever name or under whatever pretence.

Resolved, That the Whig party of Massachusetts stands now, as ever, upon the Constitution, AND HAS NO NEW DOCTRINES TO DECLARE, AND NO STEPS TO RETRACE; that it still lives to uphold the standard so long defended by a long line of illustrious and patriotic statesmen, whose glory has been as national as were the principles of which they were the representatives and exponents.

Resolved, That the ensuing election in our Commonwealth is pre-eminently a matter of state interest, and has no immediate connection with national affairs, inasmuch as no officers of the general government are to be chosen, and the reckless spirit of legislation shown by the last General Court, and their wasteful expenditure of the resources of the state, make it the imperative duty of every tax-payer and citizen to give his hand to a thorough state reform, and to restore our Commonwealth to that high standard of legislative wisdom and purity which it always maintained under Whig rule.

Resolved, That the statute known as the "Personal Liberty law," passed by the last Legislature, in such an extraordinary manner, by fanatical and reckless majorities, without the executive assent, and in defiance of the highest judicial authority—is an enactment disgraceful to a body of men sworn to support the Constitution, and should be erased from the statute book before collision with the federal authorities and bloodshed shall follow any attempt to carry its provisions into effect. (Great applause.)

Resolved, That the "Maine Liquor Law," so called, was passed in the hope, by the friends of temperance, that it would suppress the deadly vice of drunkenness—that in this hope they have been bitterly disappointed, and after fully trying that measure, they have found that it increases the evils it was meant to obviate, lessens the attachment which all good citizens should have to law as a rule of conduct, and, in its operation, is harsh, vindictive and opposed to the spirit of the Constitution; therefore, we call upon all good citizens and friends of temperance to rescue this great cause from the machinations of self-seeking demagogues, and to unite for the enactment of a law upon this important subject which shall at the same time promote temperance, respect the natural and constitutional rights of the citizens, and which public sentiment shall co-operate in supporting. (Applause.)

Resolved, That the success in a national election of a Northern party, based upon the single issue of opposition to slavery, must put the existence of the Union in peril, and the defeat of such a party must paralyze the anti-slavery sentiment of the North, and that if a union of parties shall ever become necessary, it will be a union of national patriots in all parts of the land to rescue the great interests of the country from the assaults of sectional fanatics.

SPEECH OF HON. GEORGE S. HILLARD.

Mr. HILLARD of Boston, in answer to a call, addressed the Convention as follows:—

Mr. President and Gentlemen,—It is some years since I have taken any active part in the politics of this Commonwealth; and if the Whig party were now in the condition in which it was for so

many years, the natural ruling power of the state,—if we were met here merely to transmit the sceptre in lineal succession from political father to political son, I should not be here; but at the present time, the Whig party has a right, in my opinion, to demand the presence of every Whig, at whatever sacrifice. Amid defections on the right hand and on the left, I feel it to be—as Mr. Choate has said—not merely a privilege, but a duty to be here; and, therefore, I am here. (Applause.) I feel, Mr. President, that I may address the Whig party, the Whig cause, in the words of the poet:—

Did I but purpose to embark with thee
On the smooth surface of a summer sea?
And shall I quit the bark and seek the shore
When the winds whistle and the tempests roar?

No, I will not quit the ship. (Applause.) The tempests do roar, there is the stormy blast of fanaticism striking on her weather quarter, on her lee-bow are the rocks of Democracy, and I will not quit the ship. Be my station in the cabin or the fore-castle, at the helm or by the windlass, there I will stand; and if the Whig ship is to go down, I will help to build a raft of her timbers; and, if there be a fragment of her glorious old flag left, I will nail it to an oar-blade, and hold it aloft as long as I have strength to grasp the handle! (Enthusiastic applause.)

Mr. President, we meet here with somewhat diminished numbers, but with no impaired courage. I am content that our numbers are diminished, for, in my opinion, our losses are our gains. (Applause.) We have lost the treacherous friends that gave us their countenance, but never their hearts—who held out to us one hand in greeting, and had a knife concealed in the other to stab us. (Cheers.) We have lost the weak brethren whose weakness was a perpetual misery to the party. (Laughter and Cheers.) We have lost the purblind politicians who would fain govern a great political party by rules and principles hardly big enough to govern a pin lottery, (loud laughter and cheers,) and whose political horizon was no larger than the circle traced by a tanner's horse. (Renewed applause) We have lost the disingenuous tricksters who are ever attempting to rule the honest men of Massachusetts by devices like that by which the Irishman drove his pig to Killylarney—by making him believe he was going to Cork. (Laughter and cheers). All these we are rid of, and well rid. We have a party sufficiently strong in numbers, united in purpose, and strong in principle; and I, for one, had rather fall with one principle than stand between two. (Enthusiastic cheers).

Such, sir, being the condition of our Whig party of Massachusetts, the question is, "What are we to do? Now, I hold it to be a duty in politics, as in all other things, to discharge the nearest duty, and meet the nearest emergency. Mr. Fox once said that the more he thought about the matter the more he was convinced that action, and not principle, was the proper object of government. The question is, what action shall we take? We are told that it is our duty to give up our old organization—to desert our old leaders—to throw overboard our old principles, and join a certain rag-bag party, made up of threads and patches of every political organization set down in the dictionary of weathercocks, (laughter,) and which has called itself the Republican party—a name to which it has about as good a title as the Rev. Mr. Williams has to the honors and dignities of Louis XVII. (Renewed laughter.)

Mr. President, my first call to this answer is, that such a party is simply an impossibility; and it is never a wise thing for any political party to attempt to do that thing which it is obviously impossible for them to accomplish. The notion that the whole sixteen free states are to abandon all general issues and all particular issues, and erect themselves into a party upon the single basis of opposition to slavery, is simply a piece of political Quixotism, and it is utterly, hopelessly impossible; and therefore, that is sufficient answer to the proposition.

In the next place I contend that if it were possible it would not be desirable; but I will come to that in a moment. Now, what will be the result of our attempting to form this Fusion party, taking it for granted that the attempt will not be successful? Of course the result will be to strengthen the Democratic party. And what is the relation of the Democratic party—the *whole* Democratic party—to slavery? Upon that question I will quote to you the remark of Mr. Buchanan, made in 1843. He says:—"All Christendom is leagued against the South upon the question of domestic slavery. They have no other allies to sustain their Constitutional rights except the Democracy of the North." Now, the Democratic party has got hold of the idea of nationality,—whether they have a better right to it than their neighbors it matters not,—they have got hold of that idea, and one great cause of the defeat of the Whig party at the last Presidential election was the suspicion—I think an unfounded one—that they were in some degree tinctured with sectional abolitionism; and you may depend upon it that, in the long run, the party which rests upon the national heart of the people will prevail, and when the great heart of the people uprises, as it will at the next Presidential election, this Fusion party will be broken into fragments too small to be picked up and reconstructed anew.

Now, then, it is very obvious that any party which undertakes to govern this country, and by a national party, must agree to differ in some respects upon this tremendous question of slavery: because there is this inexorable fact before us, that we have fifteen slave states at the South, and sixteen free states of the North, out of which we have to make a common country; and as the Democratic party has the national majority in the country, the end and aim of all these attempts to form a Fusion party have been, and ever will be, to weaken the Whig party and strengthen the Democratic party, which, according to Mr. Buchanan's own statement, is the "natural ally of the South." And if you want any further confirmation, you will find it in the last act of aggression of the part of the South, the Nebraska bill,—an act as wicked as foolish, and as foolish as wicked; and there are not two acts in which both these things are the goal.

That measure was concocted by Northern Democrats, and sustained by Northern Democrats, and never would have passed but for the countenance of a Democratic administration, with a Democratic President at its head. It is true that the South went into it—and, in my own opinion, a magnanimous and wise policy would have dictated a different course—but it is also true, that that egg was laid and hatched by Northern Democracy, in the first place.

Another thing. You know that the Whig party, as a national party, has been, in the main, in a minority; but a man looks a very little way into

the action of political parties who does not see the eminent services the Whig party, as a minority, has rendered the common country upon national questions. The moral weight of a national party which has always offered a constitutional opposition to slavery—I mean the Whig party of the North—the moral weight, I say, which that party has wielded, has been great; and do you suppose that the administration would ever have ventured to come before Congress and before the people with this Nebraska measure, if Mr. Webster and Mr. Clay had been alive and in their seats? No! (Cheers.) And thus these attempts to form third parties—Fusion parties—American parties—have had the invariable effect to weaken the Whig party of the North, wherein the most effectual constitutional opposition to slavery has always rested, and to strengthen the Democratic party, which is the "natural ally" of the slave party of the South.

Another objection to this fusion party is, that it must of necessity be a sectional party,—a geographical party; and just in so far as it becomes a large party; just in so far as the ends and purposes of the men who organize it are crowned with success, does it become a dangerous party. Now it is true, I think, that the slave power of the South have shown an aggressive spirit, and I have nothing at all to say on that point but to regret it, to condemn it. I have no apologies to offer for the slave power, for I think that it has shown an aggressive spirit, an unwisely aggressive spirit? but what are the reasons for this, and what are the reasons why these aggressions are so often crowned with success. In the first place, the reason is, that the natural increase of the North is so much greater than that of the South, that it stimulates the latter to unnatural efforts to keep the balance of power as it now is. At the formation of the constitution the numbers of the two sections were about the same; each had about nineteen hundred thousand.

Now there are about *nine* millions in the South, and *thirteen* millions in the North. The annual rate of increase in the free states is three hundred and fifty thousand beyond that of the slave states. There is a Scotch proverb which says, "Time and I are good against any two." Now I say time and freedom are good against slavery any day.

Another reason why the South makes these aggressions, is because the division in politics in the North have tended constantly to weaken the Whig party and to strengthen the Democratic party, their "natural allies;" and especially to weaken the moral and intellectual force of the great minority, the Whig party of the North. This has emboldened them to measures they would not otherwise have taken.

A third reason is, the perpetual exasperation and agitation occasioned by the anti-slavery agitation of the North, nine-tenths of which is nothing more nor less than vituperation of the slave-holders themselves; and while we are all of us opposed to slavery, I do say that there is no greater mistake than that in which New England seems so fond of indulging—the denunciation of slave-holders as such, and no good can by any possibility come of it.

Now, on that point, I wish to ask your attention to one or two pieces of evidence. In the Times newspaper of New York, a paper of great circulation and much ability, I find the following paragraph:—

"We can hardly open a Southern paper in

which we do not find some grave proposition for dissolving the Union, and crushing the North, either by non-intercourse, by putting a tax on Northern productions, or by putting any man into Coventry who shall have dealings with the free states. Such vaporings have become so common that, to those who are accustomed to them, they have long ceased even to excite mirth, much less any serious apprehension of difficulty.

There is the fact as testified by the "Times," that nearly every Southern newspaper teems with expressions of hostility to the North. Now, Mr. President and gentlemen, I do not happen to think that a comfortable thing by any means. I do not think it a matter to excite mirth, and if any body in the free states regards it in that light, I congratulate him on his having such abundant materials for laughter before him.

There is one side of the question, and now I have cut another scrap of evidence on the Northern side. Mr. Senator Wade, of Ohio, made a speech somewhere down in Maine, a few weeks ago, in the course of which he uttered these remarkable words:—

"There is no union between us and the South. The pretended union now existing is all meretricious. The heart does not participate in it; and I believe, from all I have seen,—and I am one of those who dare speak what I believe—I believe that there are no two nations on earth, not even the Russians and the English, at this day, who, at heart, feel more enmity towards each other than the men of the North and the men of the South."

Now, gentlemen, before I comment upon Mr. Wade, I wish to read an extract from another document:—

"In contemplating the causes which may disturb our union, it occurs, as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western—whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party, to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the aims and opinions of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection."

These, Whigs of Massachusetts, are the words of George Washington! Which will you choose—Wade or WASHINGTON for your guide?

Now, Sir, I do not believe in the truth of these statements which Mr. Wade has made. It is true, there may be some distant approach to the truth in them, but I do not believe that the South and the North have so far forgotten the ties of a common origin, a common country, and all the heritage of glorious recollections which they share together—as to feel this bitter hostility to each other. But, certainly, there is no doubt that Mr. Wade, when he utters these sentiments, feels them; and that he gives the countenance and support which come from his position as a Senator of the United States to such sentiments; and I think *that* is a melancholy fact; and I think it is a melancholy fact, also, that the great state of Ohio gives its countenance and support to a man who can utter such words as these. Mr. Wade is one of the gods of this fusion idolatry, and he is such a man as the Fusionists would like to see the

whole Northern side of the Senate Chamber filled with. By their fruits judge them! and by their fruits carried out to their legitimate consequences. Suppose the whole North were represented by men of such a spirit. The government of the common country could not be carried on for twenty-four hours.

Mr. President, would not the spirit of Washington have been darkened with sorrow if he could have foreseen that within little more than fifty years of his death, the representative of one of the largest states in the Union should have used language so opposed to his teachings and his life? And if such sentiments were to become in any measure common, I should expect to see the very sods of Mount Vernon heave with the indignant throbbings of the great heart that sleeps beneath. (Loud applause.)

Mr. President, if it were in good faith the aim of the fusion party to bring up the free states generally to the constitutional standard of opposition to slavery, where the Whig party of Massachusetts has always stood, there would not be so much objection to their platform and their plan. But that, although their ostensible purpose, is not their real. That purpose is to put forth moderate resolutions, embracing, to a considerable degree, abstract propositions which we are willing to give our assent to, and, at the same time, to carry on a system of agitation upon the extremest points of doctrine and policy, and to keep the Northern mind in a state of profitless, and worse than profitless excitement, against slaveholders *as* slaveholders.

So much for this question in its national aspect. Now why should the state of Massachusetts, in view of its state politics—why should the Whig party of Massachusetts, as such, give its aid to the fusion movement? It seems to be only on the ground that the state of Massachusetts, at this moment, is not sufficiently anti-slavery. Now I beg leave to say that the state of Massachusetts, upon the record, stands convicted of an excess of anti-slavery zeal—that is, her anti slavery zeal has overflowed the barriers of the Constitution, and needs rather to be checked than to be encouraged.

The real thing that is wanted in the North is diffusion, and not intensity. We would be glad to transport some of our super-abundant anti-slavery zeal into regions where they have not enough of it; but, instead of that, we are increasing its intensity in particular places, and, by that very act, are preventing its diffusion, since conservative men, avoiding our excess, by a natural reaction take refuge with the Democratic party, where they find little or none of it.

You have heard of the family who were awakened in the night by a loud knocking at their front door, and, on inquiry, were told not to disturb themselves, because the intruder was using their knocker to wake up his own family, some three or four doors off, his house not being provided with that convenient appendage. Now, ours is a somewhat parallel case. We are not only wide-awake on the subject of slavery, but we cannot and will not go to sleep upon it, and we are kept in a state of nervous distraction by having our knocker used to wake up families ten doors off.

I said that the anti-slavery zeal of Massachusetts had overflowed the constitutional barriers, and I prove that by a reference to the "Personal Liberty bill" which is upon our statute book. You know what that law is. I never have heard any apology for it, except such as is founded upon the

fact that other states have passed similar unconstitutional enactments. You may, if you choose, call that law nullification,—I call it *treason*. (Applause.) I say that that law is treason, if I know what treason is, and, more than all that, Mr. President and gentlemen, we have done what no other state, so far as I know, has ever done. We have nullified a law which the Supreme Court of our own state have pronounced to be constitutional; and does not everybody see—upon any other subject they could not fail to see it—that that deprives the state of Massachusetts of all moral power before the nation on the subject of slavery.

Suppose, for instance, that any representative of Massachusetts should move in Congress for modification of the "Fugitive Slave Law," what we should all desire to see brought about, for we all feel in Massachusetts that that contains unnecessarily harsh and cruel provisions—I say, suppose a man should get up from Massachusetts now in Congress, and make such a motion; what would be the answer? Would it not be—"Why do you come into Court upon this subject? You have nullified this law; you have stepped out of the Constitution; and do you now seek a remedy within it? You cannot be heard—you are not in Court." Is there any answer to this? And is there any doubt that that is now the position of Massachusetts before the nation? What would have been the answer at the time of the South Carolina nullification, if she had asked for a modification of the tariff? Would it not have been—"No, you have tendered another issue to us, and this we must meet before you can be heard."

Look, now, upon another aspect of this subject. This fusion movement is, substantially, like the combination of the Free Soil and American parties last year, in which the Free Soil party contrived to get the upper hand. At that time we had in the lower House of Congress a large Whig delegation, an eminently able and estimable delegation, and I say that the opposition which they offered to the Nebraska iniquity was as strong and effective as could have been presented by the same number of men from any part or party of the Northern states. But just in proportion as the Legislature of Massachusetts went on in their anti-slavery extravagances, was the moral power of those gentlemen weakened at Washington, and if they had remained there until the "Personal Liberty bill" was passed, they would have had no moral weight whatever upon the subject of slavery.

Now the State of Massachusetts is called upon to desert the party which sent to the last Congress a delegation second to none upon the floor of the house, and join a party which has sent to the present Congress a delegation that is *first* to none.

Then again, there are state issues which demand the instant attention of the Whig party. Looking at the Legislature of last winter,—I do not merely speak of its unconstitutional anti-slavery action—but looking at the whole course of legislation, at the reckless temper manifested in regard to property, at the headlong spirit of innovation in which the great subject of marriage was approached, and the property relations of husband and wife were dealt with, it becomes the duty of every Whig to give his aid in sending to the Legislature men who will act with more wisdom, more dignity, more moderation, not that the common law relations between husband and wife upon the subject of property are not susceptible of amendment, but the reformer should approach them with more knowledge and more thoughtfulness.

I need not speak, gentlemen, of the general want of decorum and dignity which characterized the proceedings of the last Legislature; nor need I recall those unbecoming and unworthy acts which are so fresh in your memories, and which have so mortified every man who felt a pride in the history and character of the state. But, I say, upon many points we want a change in the legislative spirit which controlled our Commonwealth the last winter, and will control it the next, should the Fusion party prevail.

Then, again, there is the "liquor law." I do not suppose we are all exactly of one mind upon this subject, but I do say the liquor question is one which we must meet; and I say further, that there is no safety, except in adopting the principle that we must cease to prohibit and begin to regulate. (Cheers.) There is no other course, and every person who looks on this subject dispassionately will come to the conclusion that, at least, in the section of the state I have the honor to represent, the liquor law has not only increased the evil of intemperance, but it has created a disregard of law as a rule of conduct, which I consider a great evil. It matters not what laws we pass, if, in the passage of any one law, we strike at the principle of loyalty to law itself.

Mr. President, I have drawn up a few propositions, embodying the substance of my arguments against the proposed fusion, and I will so far tax the patience of the Convention as to read them. They are as follows:—

The Whigs of Massachusetts, as part and parcel of the national Whig party, decline to join the fusion party, for the following reasons:

Because the proposed party is an impossible one—the free states not being willing and ready to give up all other general issues, and all local and particular issues whatever, to combine themselves into an anti-slavery party;

Because such a party, if possible, would not be desirable or expedient, as such a party must be, in point of fact, whatever its professions to the contrary might be, a geographical and sectional party;

Because the Northern Whig party has always presented a constitutional opposition to slavery, and a fusion party can do no more, or at least should do no more;

Because the organization of a party on the sole basis of anti-slavery, besides cutting off all possible co-operation at the South, will in reality weaken the anti-slavery feeling at the North; because it will drive men of conservative tendencies into the ranks of the Democracy, who will of necessity take the ground of non-agitation more completely than ever;

Because the attempt to form such a party, being unsuccessful, must of necessity strengthen the Democratic party of the North, which has ever been the ally of the slave power;

Because the dangers from the aggressive spirit of the South have been greatly exaggerated. The fate of slavery and of the colored race depend in a great measure upon elements beyond the control of the national Legislature, and the rapid increase of the free states, and the great excess of their increase over that of the slave states, must soon give them a great preponderance of weight in any issue on this question;

Because we feel assured that the Free Soil fusionists, in spite of the moderation of these resolutions, will proceed to ventilate and agitate the most extreme propositions, and thus keep the pub-

lic mind in a state of profitless exasperation and irritation upon a subject which most of all requires to be calmly, rationally, and dispassionately treated ;

Because the formation of such a party tends towards disunion ; since if carried out and successful it must fill the offices of government with men who cannot act with slaveholders, and with whom slaveholders cannot act ;

Because such a party tends to create a hostile feeling between North and South, which every patriot must deprecate, from which no good can come to anybody, least of all to the colored race, bond or free ;

As members of the Whig party of Massachusetts we decline to join the Fusion party.

Because the present election is a state election, and has nothing to do directly and immediately with national issues ;

Because it is the primary duty of the Whigs of Massachusetts to rescue the state from the party who now control it, and whose legislative policy is perilous to the best interests of the community ;

Because Massachusetts can *do* nothing, in its state capacity, on the subject of slavery, which is not inconsistent with her obligations to the Constitution, and her duties to the common country ;

Because Massachusetts already, under the influences of a wild anti-slavery zeal, has solemnly nullified a law of the United States, which our own Supreme Court has pronounced to be constitutional, and has thus deprived herself of all moral power on the subject of slavery before the Union ;

Because men elected to state offices, merely from their anti-slavery zeal, must either keep the state in its present attitude of unconstitutional opposition to slavery or push it still farther in that direction ;

Because while slavery presents no state issue, there are state issues of importance, which we desire to present to the people for their deliberate judgment ;

Because the real object of the fusion agitation is to elevate men to office which they could not reach, or to keep them in offices which they could not have reached but for the constant, heating appeals which have been made and are making to the anti-slavery sentiment of the state ;

Because no National Whig can support the gubernatorial candidate of the Fusion party ; since he was taken and Governor Gardner was rejected, because the latter would not remove Judge Loring and vetoed the Personal Liberty bill, both which acts met the cordial approbation of the Whig party ;

Because the fusionists, whatever may be their professions, and however moderate their resolutions, do distinctly present to the people of Massachusetts a choice between union principles and disunion principles, and the Whig party will never give its countenance, directly or indirectly, to disunion ;

And now I have only to ask the Whig party of Massachusetts to be true to themselves and true to the principles which have done so much to make Massachusetts what she is. Let us cling to those sound doctrines and that wise policy in which our own state and our common country can alike find the sources of happiness and prosperity. Together we have stood, shoulder to shoulder, in many a well-fought field, and at the close of the contest seen the lights of victory playing round our banners and our weapons. But now another discipline

is trying the temper of our souls. The sceptre of success has passed for the present into other hands, and the gilded swarm of summer friends has flown elsewhere in search of the sunshine of popular favor. Be it so. Faithful hearts are welded together by defeat, and noble affections are strengthened by adversity. Not alone from old triumphs but from recent checks let us draw the elements of energy and endurance. Let discouragement animate us—let disaster rouse us to new efforts—let us extract from defeat itself the cordial of hope. In the night that darkens around us, let not despair weaken our hearts ; let not disorder lessen our force ; let not desertion thin our ranks. Let the watch-fires be trimmed ; let the sentinels walk their rounds ; let every man know his place, and heed his leader's voice. Watchman, what of the night ? The morning cometh and also the night. Yes, the morning cometh—for us it cometh. (Vociferous applause, and cheering long continued.)

Prof. FOWLER of Amherst followed and made an earnest speech, endorsing the platform and the candidate for Governor.

Mr. KIMBALL, from the Committee on Votes for Lieutenant Governor, reported the following to be the result :—

| | |
|---|-----|
| Whole number of votes..... | 416 |
| Necessary for a choice..... | 209 |
| Moses Davenport of Newburyport had..... | 221 |
| Charles H Plunkett of Hinsdale..... | 99 |
| Jesse Murdock of Carver..... | 73 |
| James M. Thompson of Springfield..... | 15 |
| William C. Plunkett of Adams..... | 4 |
| T. L. Crocker of Taunton..... | 1 |
| George P. Richardson of Worcester..... | 1 |
| Seth Sprague of Boston..... | 1 |
| P. C. Edwards..... | 1 |

Mr. DAVENPORT was declared to be the nominee amid loud applause.

Gen. OLIVER submitted the following :—

| | |
|---|-----|
| Whole number of votes for Secretary of State..... | 209 |
| Wendell T. Davis, of Greenfield, had..... | 208 |
| Henry W. Kinsman, of Newburyport..... | 1 |
| Whole number of votes for Attorney General..... | 211 |
| Reuben A. Chapman, of Springfield, had ———..... | 201 |
| George S. Hillard, of Boston..... | 6 |
| John H. Clifford, of New Bedford..... | 2 |
| Otis P. Lord, of Salem..... | 2 |
| Whole number of votes for Treasurer..... | 187 |
| John Sargent of Cambridge, had..... | 187 |
| Whole number of votes for Auditor was..... | 244 |
| Joseph Mitchell, of Boston, had..... | 244 |

And Messrs. DAVIS, CHAPMAN, SARGENT and MITCHELL were declared to be the nominees of the Convention.

The question was now stated to be on the passage of the resolutions.

Mr. SHAW, of Abington, moved a division of the question ; but his motion was rejected, and the resolutions, as a whole, were adopted with unanimity.

SECOND SPEECH OF MR. WALLEY.

Mr. WALLEY, having endeavored to obtain the floor before the question was taken on the resolutions, but failed to make his voice reach the President's ear, now rose and said :—

Mr. President,—I was not able to catch your ear before the question was put upon the resolutions ; it makes no difference now the vote has been taken. My object in rising was to say that when I had the honor of appearing upon the platform this morning, I was overwhelmed with

surprise at the honor which this Convention had conferred upon me; for I must say that I considered the nomination of this Convention, with such men as are here assembled, and with such principles as have brought them together and actuates them, as a great honor and a great compliment; and I will say that I should esteem defeat at the polls, acting with such men, as a greater honor than success with either of the other parties in the field. (Cheers).

I rose, however, with another purpose, at his time. It was to say to you, that when I was upon the platform this morning, nothing had been said upon the principles which were to actuate us in this campaign, and having since heard those resolutions, and noticed the action of the Convention in the affirmation of them, I have only to say that they meet with my entire and hearty approbation. (Loud cheers.)

Let me say to you gentlemen, and the people of this Commonwealth, that never has there been a moment since the existence of a government in this State, when the conduct of the people in reference to principles was of more consequence than at the present moment.

Sir, we have started upon two different roads—one goes to sustain the Constitution of the United States, the other goes to nullification and disunion. (Loud cheers, and cries of "good! good!") We may say nothing about individuals; we must talk now straight out about principles. I read, sir, only this very morning, that the demand of the Garrison party is now for a dissolution of the Union. They say nothing can be done to suppress the evil of slavery until this Union is dissolved. That is frank and manly; they speak out what they mean. But we have another party which tells us that in order to prevent the extension of slavery it is necessary to ignore the Whig party; that alone, they say, will answer the purpose. Sir, that is only the first step; take that and you must take another; that is only the first step downwards.

If you form one sectional party, you must another and another; if you have said A, you must go on to the end of the alphabet; and I forewarn gentlemen now, that if they take one step in that course, they cannot stop anywhere short of a dissolution of the Union. (Loud applause.) The simple question now before the people of the Commonwealth is:—Have you calculated the value of the Union, and are you prepared to surrender it—or do you intend to stand by the Constitution of this country and to hand down the blessings you have enjoyed, unimpaired, to your posterity? If so, let national principles alone. We have no national offices to be filled at the coming election; attend, therefore, to your own state, and let national questions alone until next year; and do nothing to compromise your fidelity to the Union and the Constitution. (Applause.)

Mr. ASPINWALL, from the Committee on the Platform, reported the following additional resolutions:—

Resolved, That we unanimously recommend SAMUEL H. WALLEY of Roxbury for the office of Governor, as eminently fitted by his private virtues, by his long advocacy of Massachusetts interests in the state Legislature, and by his bold assertion and untiring defence of Northern rights in the national Congress, for the first place in the Commonwealth he has loved so well.

Resolved, That we unanimously nominate for

the suffrages of their fellow citizens, MOSES DAVENPORT, of Newburyport, for the office of Lieutenant Governor; WENDELL T. DAVIS, of Greenfield, for the office of Secretary of the Commonwealth; REUBEN A. CHAPMAN, of Springfield, for the office of Attorney General; JOHN SARGENT, of Cambridge, for the office of Treasurer; and JOSEPH MITCHELL, of Boston, for the office of Auditor, as citizens of unblemished private character, as eminently fitted by their talents to fill the offices for which we have named them, and as tried, steadfast and unseduced Whigs, whom the allurements of office can never lead to betray their party, or desert its principles.

The Hon. OTIS P. LORD of Salem was called for. He responded in substance as follows:—

Mr. President,—This is a Whig meeting. (Laughter and applause.) I meant once to come to a Whig meeting and hear without being heard. I have been somewhat accustomed of late years to attending those meetings which have been called Whig, but until to-day since some fifteen years ago, in this very place, I have not before seen the *real* Whig spirit roused—that which has the ring of the true metal. To-day we are Whig, and we are not anything else. (Laughter and applause.) We have no outsiders to catch to-day; we have no baits to throw to any gudgeons. We stand to-day Whigs upon Whig principles, and we stand there or we fall. (Cheers and cries of "good—good.")

It does one good to see a regular old-fashioned political meeting—one based upon some kind of politics other than to see who can get the most votes in a scrub race, (laughter) and to-day we have presented to us not only a platform such as we have all cordially united upon, and are ready to sustain, but we have standard-bearers to represent us in sustaining and carrying forward those principles such as are worthy of us and worthy of the Commonwealth.

To day, Mr. President, after the ballot for Governor had taken place, as I saw my worthy and most respected friend pass up the aisle and come upon this platform, I remembered that only one year ago such a fusion as nobody ever before heard of, and such a fusion as nobody hereafter will ever hear of, had swept him, as it had other patriots and statesmen, from the public service, and put untried, unknown men into their places, and I thought that the voice of such an assembly as this, if it could be tendered to me as it was to him, would ten thousand times compensate for all the mortification—if any body *could* be mortified, (loud laughter and applause) of a stab in the back in the dark. (Renewed applause.)

No open foe in a fair field ever caused the Whigs of Massachusetts to quail before it. (Cheers). If they are beaten down it is in a bush fight, or in the dark, or by a treacherous blow. The Whigs of Massachusetts, upon the principles which they have advocated, upon the principles which have made Massachusetts what she is, openly maintain themselves against the world. But a new era is dawning; a Republican party has sprung into existence, but I have not seen, with the exception of our late respected fellow citizen, (laughter) who has been picked out from among us to see how many can be taken away,—with that exception, among all those leaders I have not seen one, no, not one, that was not last year in the other fusion. Why, gentlemen, you remember that last year we said that the party which had been organized

down cellar, or somewhere out of sight—that party which was called in Virginia “the dark lantern oligarchy”—were merely puppets, the wires to which were pulled by a magician, who meant to warm a cushion for himself in the United States Senate—but our good friends said to, “O you are mistaken; let us all go into that party and manage it.” And they went in one after another in order to manage the Know Nothings, and keep Wilson out of the Senate. (Laughter.)

Well, this year these same good-natured friends say—“This fusion is a great thing, after all; and now, which is best,” say they, solemnly, “that good men, good Whigs, should take hold and get the management of that movement, or shall we let other men get the management?” No, it is best for the Whigs to go into it; and so they take hold of it in order to get the management. They get the management, and then they nominate four out of the six candidates from the old Know Nothing or American party, which they last year meant to manage.

Who is at the head of this fusion movement? Why, no less a personage—I don’t mean to call names, and there is nobody here at whom I can nod to indicate to whom I allude—but it is just that man who said he had been a member of every political party in Massachusetts, and had left every political party, and he meant to leave every political party just as soon as they ceased to conform to his principles; and when you find out what his principles are, you will know when he will leave you. (Laughter and applause.)

I said, Mr. President, I did not mean to make a speech—I do not. But I want to congratulate myself and this great assembly upon the cheering prospects before us—the prospect that we are to have a party that has to search for candidates instead of having a party made merely for the purpose of advancing particular men. (Cheers.) And that I hold to be the great triumph, this hour of the Whig party.

I say this is the great matter on which we may congratulate ourselves. They may call us a small party, but if we are small, we are somewhat energetic; there is a little strength left somewhere. I thought once or twice, to-day, these rafters must have been pretty well secured. (Applause.) But this party is not a small party in Massachusetts. I do not care what extrenuous influence may call one man and another away to-day; the great heart of Massachusetts is Whig to the core. (Loud cheers.) You cannot cheat Massachusetts three times with the same delusion; you may make coalition go twice, you may make secret political machinery work once, possibly, and fusion may work once; but I say you cannot cheat the people of Massachusetts three times in the same way. They are an honest people—they are a confiding people, but they are intelligent enough to see to it that they are not cheated three times in the same manner. I take it that if the people of Massachusetts are what I believe them to be, we shall have a change this fall, and the Whig principles of Massachusetts will gain a triumph, and the Whig men of Massachusetts will again be entrusted with the rule of this Commonwealth.

I think our friends (whose brains, I speak it with all deference, seem to be a little addled on this subject,) who speak of the Whig party as dead, will shortly feel very much as the man did who had taken a pretty heavy dinner, and something to secure digestion, (laughter) and riding on

the top of a stage, tumbled himself off, and on getting up wanted to know if the stage was n’t upset. (Laughter.) That is the notion of those men who suppose they have upset the Whig party; when they think there is indubitable evidence that the Whig party has “ceased to exist,” they have only tumbled off themselves—that is all. The old coach is right side up to-day, and she has a driver now who will put her through. (Great cheering.)

I feel, Mr. President, that there is a duty incumbent upon me, and upon every citizen of this Commonwealth, in the present crisis. Nobody knows what sort of legislation we had last winter. By and by we will begin to feel its enormity. By and by, when the harbor of Boston is utterly ruined by giving away a hundred acres to one corporation, and fifty to seventy-five to another, with liberty to fill up that harbor without notice to anybody, then you will begin to feel the evil effects of that legislature. By and by the people will feel the legislation which was had last winter in relation to that sacred contract of marriage which, except for mere cohabitation, is wholly annulled, yet nobody’s eyes seemed to be opened to this matter. But this was just such legislation as you would expect from men who are wholly new and wholly unacquainted with the subjects with which they were dealing. By and by the people will understand these matters and feel their injurious effects, unless indeed, as I hope and trust—I do not say I believe—but hope and trust a good sound administration next season will pipe out, as with a sponge, about four-fifths of all that was done by last year’s legislature. (Cheers.)

Mr. President, in that most admirable address which I had the pleasure of listening to from your lips this morning, there was no single sentence which met a more cordial and sympathising response from my heart than that which said that it was only the honorable acts of the Executive which permitted the doings of the last Legislature to be characterised as even *decent*. (Cheers.) I wish gentlemen when they go home would get one of those books for the people, one of those Town Clerk’s volumes of laws, and read it. If they have not opportunity to send it in the day time, let them read it in the evening; and if they are not able to read it in the evening, let them do so on Sunday, for it is work sufficiently holy to justify even that, to learn what the Legislature of last year undertook to do. I want to know, sir, why we hesitate to speak of the doings of that Legislature—of its Nunnery Committees, Investigating Committees, and all? Why do we not speak of them to-day? It is simply because you cannot speak of them without a *Hiss*ing upon your tongues. (Tumultuous applause.)

But, Mr. President, I have detained you too long. I did not mean to make a speech, and I will only add, that I thank this great meeting for the kindness which they have manifested towards me.

Mr. ELLIS of Carver, from the Committee charged with the duty of nominating a State Central Committee, stated that they had attended to that service and were ready to report:—They have ventured to make the number of members at large thirteen, being the number of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and this addition to the number they recommend to the accep-

tance of the Convention. They present the following names :—

AT LARGE.

Hon. Luther V. Bell of Somerville.
 Hon. Wm. Aspinwall of Brookline.
 Thomas Simmons, Esq., of Roxbury.
 John S. Holmes, Esq., of Boston.
 Charles H. French, Esq., of Canton.
 Wendell T. Davis, Esq., of Greenfield.
 T. H. Sweetser, Esq., of Lowell.
 Col. N. A. Thompson of Boston.
 W. C. Endicott, Esq., of Salem.
 Hon. Frederick O. Prince of Winchester.
 Oscar Edwards, Esq., of Northampton.
 Arthur L. Devens, Esq., of Ware.
 Thomas Macy, Esq., of Nantucket.

DISTRICTS.

District No. 1—F. H. Jenkins of Barnstable.
 “ “ 2—Philand. Washburn, Middleboro.
 “ “ 3—N. W. Coffin of Dorchester.
 “ “ 4—Otis Kimball of Boston.

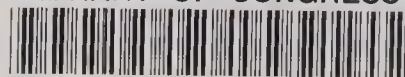
“ “ 5—Harvey Jewell of Boston.
 “ “ 6—R. C. Huse of Newburyport.
 “ “ 7—James Dana of Charlestown.
 “ “ 8—W. E. Faulkner of Acton.
 “ “ 9—Charles Devens, Jr., of Worcester.
 “ “ 10—J. L. King, 2d, of Springfield.
 “ “ 11—James D. Colt, 2d, of Pittsfield.

The report was accepted.

The thanks of the Convention were voted to Mr. Stevenson and the other officers. Three cheers were given for the nominees, for Mr. Stevenson, for Mr. Lord, for Mr. Hillard, and the Convention, at 5 1-2 o'clock, having discharged the business for which it assembled, adjourned.

It is due that we should say that it was a great gathering. The weather was unpleasant and rainy; but the spirits of the Whigs were buoyant and cheerful.

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